

A Full

# ANSWER

Paragraph by Paragraph,

TO

Sir *JOHN FENWICK'S*

PAPER

Given to the Sheriffs, *January the 28th, 1697.*  
at the Place of Execution on *Tower-Hill.*

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*By a true Son of the Church of England, as  
Establish'd by Law.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *Richard Baldwin* nigh the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane,* 1697.

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## REMARKS

UPON

*Sir John Fenwick's Paper, &c*

**S**Peaking nor Writing was never my Talent, I shall therefore give a very Short but Faithful Account First, of my Religion; and next, what I Suspect most Innocently for, to avoid the Calumnies I may Reasonably expect my Enemies will cast upon me when Defence since they have most falsly and maliciously aspers'd me whilst under my Misfortunes.

This First Paragraph contains the Heads of the whole following Paper. He first modestly owns  
In

all Talent of Speaking or Writing; but in the following Discourse, he assumes a *Boldness* as *Extravagant*: Whilst in endeavouring to assert his own Innocence, he Arraigns the whole Foundation of the very Government, by fixing not only his own Loyalty (as he so calls it) but that of the whole Nation, as wholly and solely in all Justice and Duty, und to no other Sovereign Head than King James. How far his Innocence may stand upon that Basis, will be farther examin'd, &c.

In the next part, he seems to groan under the Fiction of a blemish'd Reputation, a sensible part of a Man of Honour, receiv'd from the Calumnies of his Enemies; with whom, and the whole World, he endeavours to set himself right again, upon his following Declaration.

As for my Religion, I was brought up in the Church of England, as it is Establish'd by Law, and have ever confess'd it, though I confess I have been an Unworthy Member of it, in not living up to the strict and excellent Rules thereof, for which I take shame to my self, I humbly ask forgiveness of God. I come now to Die that Communion; trusting, as an humble and hearty Penitent, to be receiv'd, by the Mercy of God, through the Merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour.

This



This Declaration of his Education in the Church  
 of England, we are very well satisfied in, and even  
 his worst Enemies have that Charity, as to hope he  
 is received into that Mercy, through those Merits, &c.  
 But that he has ever professed that Religion,  
 and truly profess it, will admit of a very unhappy  
 Reflection, especially, as he has stated the Basis of  
 that Church, viz: *As it is Established by Law.* That  
 Church of England, I am afraid he forgets, has as-  
 serted the Title of our gracious Sovereign King  
*William* as the Rightful Monarch of England, Scot-  
 land, France, and Ireland, and that the whole pre-  
 sent Allegiance and Duty of the Members of that  
 Church is wholly owing to no other Crown'd Head  
 but King *William*; and that consequently by his fol-  
 lowing Assertions of no other Right but *K. James's*,  
 even to denouncing no less than an Impending  
 Judgment (as he says afterwards) upon the whole  
 Nation, and no Hopes of its Welfare or Prosperity,  
 'till his Restoration; I am afraid this poor Gentle-  
 man is either no Member of that Communion, or,  
 at least, a very Unworthy one, in a quite diffe-  
 rent sense than that in his Paper. And 'twere  
 heartily to be desir'd, that he had either open'd his  
 own dying Eyes, or his Spiritual Confessors would  
 have

have so open'd them for him, as that he might have taken this shame to himself, and ask'd God forgiveness for it, as well as for those other Errors of his Life, that have deserved that dying Blush, and implored that Mercy: and it being much to be feared, there wanted this additional Reformation, to compleat the true Penitent.

My Religion taught me my Loyalty, which, I bless God, is Untainted: And I have ever endeavour'd in the Station wherein I have been placed, to the utmost of my power, to support the Crown of England in the true and Lineal course of Descent, without Interruption.

Here he very frankly Confesses his whole Principles, and makes his Religion the School-Mistress that taught him them; viz. That he has ever endeavour'd to support the Crown of England in its Lineal Course of Descent, without interruption. Which, as his farther Declaration intimates, he endeavours to prove, is the Universal Duty, whilst in thus Vindicating his own Loyalty to be untainted, he insinuates, that of the whole Kingdom besides, is wholly Corrupted and Poisoned. A very hard Charge against a whole Nation, that at one stroke, clears his own whole Attainder, and turns it all back up-

on his Judges. The Criminals belike, were not Sir *John Fenwick* at the Bar, but the King, Lords, and Commons, upon the Tribunal.

The many great Arguments relating to the Succession of Crowned Heads, and the various Dispensations of God's Providence, by whom Kings Reign so often, in all Ages, and all Kingdoms, in breaking that Lineal Course of Descent, he speaks of, sometimes in Divine Writ, even with the special and immediate Command of God himself, are those great Themes too long to be handled in this narrow Paper, and already more learnedly discusst by able Pens. I shall only say in short, if no Incapacities whatever can break that Lineal Chain; the whole State of Humanity is of all Creatures most miserable; and whatever Redemption we may have for our Souls in the other World, we have very little Titles to that of our Bodies in this: For Chains Slavery, Oppression, and whatever the unlimited power or Pleasure of Tyranny can lay upon us, are our Inheritance. If Sir *John's* Church of *England* Religion (as he blesses God for it) has taught him this, the other Members of her Communion bless God, that she has given them quite another Lesson, and taught them to submit to the present Establishment, as the

Ordinance of God, without any Frights of those threatned Judgments hanging over our Heads, from the Administration of our present Gracious Sovereign.

*As for what I am now to die for, I call God to witness, I went not to that Meeting in Leaden-Hall-street, with any such intention as to Invite King James to Invade this Nation, nor was I my self provided with either Horse or Arms, or engaged for any Number of Men, or gave particular Consent for any such Invasion, as is most falsely Sworn against me.*

Here he acknowledges his going to the meeting in Leaden-hall-street, but not with an intention of Inviting King James to Invade this Nation, viz. by Force. Was King James to be Invited over any other way than by Force? As little as he acknowledges his Talent in Speaking, and Writing, he must own it much less in Thinking, if his Experience and Knowledge of the English aversion to King James could be so clouded, as but to flatter himself with the least dream of King James his Return but by Force. This Zealous Gentleman for his Old Master, must be quite of a different Opinion from all the other Friends  
of



of that Unhappy Prince, especially those on the other side of the Water; his good Friend *Lewis* would otherwise have never given himself the unnecessary Trouble and Charge of those Forces drawn down for King *James* his Descent upon *England*, if he had had any such intire confidence, either in the Justice of his Cause, or the Smiles of Providence, to have introduced him with a bloodless Revolution.

But perhaps the Interpretation of this Paragraph will bear a fairer Sense. Sir *John* did not go to this meeting, *Himself* to Invite King *James* over by Force. No, perhaps there was no occasion for it, that Invitation was already made, and so Sir *John* only came to Visit and Complement the Inviter, not to make the Invitation. And if the Invitation to a forcible Invasion was made by any other Members of that *Leaden-hall-street* Meeting, however Sir *John* was so Courteous as to come and kiss of the Cup, and dip in the Dish with them, undoubtedly not over-much displeas'd either with his Company, or their Business before them, especially when (as he told you before) his Religion had taught him, in his Station, to the utmost of his Power to support the Crown in its Lineal descent; and consequently such a Forcible Invasion on that very account, should have a hearty Well-wisher of Sir

*John*, if not as Vigorous a Champion ; though the last of these seems most agreeable, both to Sir *John's* Martial Education, and his Religious Loyalty, when as he tells you, *the utmost of his Power was never wanting in his Station* on so good an occasion ; and 'tis very unlikely that he would want a station in such important Service ; and though he tells you, he gave no particular Consent for any such Invasion, at least, he Confesses his general Consent ; and though he Charges the Evidence as For-sworn, upon the nice Distinction between *particular* and *general* Consent ; 'tis very much to be presumed, that that Evidence that has hitherto had the Confirmation of dying Acknowledgments and Confessions, should not stretch harder upon Sir *John Fenwick* than upon any other of the Criminals that dyed in the same bad Cause before him.

*I also declare in the presence of God, that I knew nothing of King James his Coming to Callis, nor of any Invasion intended from thence, 'till it was publickly known ; and the only Notion I had, that something might be attempted, was from the Thoulon Fleet coming to Brest.*

This Paragraph looks but with an Indifferent Face, for where it lays the greatest stress of Sir *John's* Innocence,



cence, and consequently the greatest Folly upon the Evidence against him; the Pen-Men of this Paragraph (for in Charity I would not willingly believe it his own) were mightily mistaken in their point of Time; for what he declares in this, utterly contradicts, or at least clashes with the former. For here in no less presence than Almighty God, 'tis declared that Sir John knew nothing of King James's coming to *Callis*, nor any Invasion intended from thence till publicly known; which upon our Calculation of public knowledge, was about *February*, 1695. And next, that the whole Notion he had that something of that kind might be attempted, was from the *Thoulon* Fleet's coming to *Brest*, which was in the Spring following, 1696.

Now here's an unhappy Dilemma starts up against him. The foregoing Meeting, at *Leaden-hall-street* unluckily fell out to be in *June* 1695. was a year before the *Thoulon* Fleets return to *Brest*, and almost much before King James his coming to *Callis*, as was proved at large in the Trial of Sir John Friend. p. 1

"Capt. Porter, My Lord, about the latter end of  
"May last, [*viz.* 1695.] or the beginning of June  
"we had two Meetings, one was at the King's-F

in *Leaden-hall-street*, the other at *Mrs. Mountjoys* in *St. James's-street*. At the first Meeting there were present, my Lord of *Aylsbury*, my Lord *Montgomery*, Sir *John Friend*, Sir *William Parkyns*, Sir *John Fenwick*, Mr. *Cook*, Captain *Chernock*, and my self, after Dinner Mr. *Goodman* came in. Now at both those Meetings, it was Consulted of, and agreed, to send Captain *Chernock* into *France* to King *James*, to desire him to borrow of the *French King* 10000 Men to come over hither, 8000 Foot, 1000 Horse, and 1000 Dragoons. Captain *Chernock* said he did not care to go upon a Foolish Message, and therefore desired to know what they would have him to acquaint King *James* with, and assure him of. They all agreed to meet the King, whenever they had notice of his Landing, with a Body of 2000 Horse, of which every one in particular was to bring his Quota, where-ever he would appoint.

The Result of this Meeting, viz. *Chernock's* going to *France*, so Commission'd, and to invite King to an Invasion, was likewise confest by *Chernock* at his Execution; and his knowledge of this Invasion was likewise confest by Sir *John Friend* at his trial; and whether Sir *John Fenwick's* was a particular

lar or general consent to the Invasion, in concert with the whole Club at the *Leaden-Hall-street* meeting, it matters not; 'tis sufficient we have the very Dying Confessions of the Criminals themselves to own the Measures taken towards an Invasion, at which Sir *John Fenwick* by his own Confession was present, and consequently how far more or less consenting, could be no stranger to an intended Invasion; yet here is no less than God himself call'd to witness he knew nothing of an Invasion intended, 'till publicly known; nay, that the only notion he had that any such thing was upon the Anvil, or like to be attempted, was from the *Thoulon* Fleet coming to *Brest*.

Nay suppose it in the largest sense, viz. the *Thoulon* Fleet coming to *Brest*, which was in the Spring Ninety Six, to be meant their very setting out in order to come hither, viz. their first setting Sail that way. Yet, as 'tis notoriously known, the *Thoulon* Fleet stirr'd not out 'till ours was upon Sail homewards, many a long Month after June 95; so still the unhappy Contradiction is the same, viz. That he knew nothing of the matter before February 95, and yet was privy and consenting to it the June before. Nay, 'tis yet farther to be wonder'd what unaccountable pretended Ignorance this must be

of Sir John's knowing nothing of an Invasion, 'till publickly known, (an Invasion which carries the Face of a kind of honourable Hostility) when the sequel of the Paper tells you, that he was made privy to no less than a base Design form'd against the King's Life, the very *April* before (*viz.* 95.) which he tells you he prevented; as if the sculking Assassins durst trust the Keys of their Cabinet, their Edge Tools with him, and the more generous Invaders durst not trust him with theirs.

Good Heaven! who were the Managers of this dying Gentlemans Conscience, that could suffer him to leave such Living Records of Disingenuity behind him.

And here I cannot but look back to the unhappy Reflections made by Sir John upon the Credit and Truth of the Evidence against him, where he utterly denies his *being provided with Horse and Arms, or Engaged for any number of Men, or that he gave any particular Consent to the Invasion, as fasly Sworn against him, &c.* And must say this in their behalfs, That the Pen-men of this Speech are, not so, altogether to be credited in their *Veracity* of the Charge of *Perjury* against the *Witnesses*, when they are so ve-

ry loose in that point even upon Sir John himself; and have had the Misfortune so shamefully to prevaricate, ev'n with Contradictions themselves in the very Declaration of his Innocence.

*I also call God to Witness, That I received the Knowledge of what is contain'd in those Papers, that I gave to a great Man that came to me in the Tower, both from Letters and Messages that came from France; and he told me when I read them to him, that the Prince of Orange had been acquainted with most of those things before.*

I cannot so well penetrate into the full depth of this Paragraph, by reason it seems to stand in a Darker Light, being somewhat obscurer then the other part of his Paper. Yet thus far it appears that the matters contain'd in those Papers, we may suppose to be some part of a Confession, in order to lay hold of the Royal Mercy, made to the Noble Peer sent to the Tower to Examin him, and given him in Writing, to be transmitted to the King; the Authority of which he declares he received

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ed from *France*. Whether this was any trifling Discovery, I will not determine; though it looks like such, by reason the Noble Peer made answer, it was no more than the King knew before.

Here I shall make one Remark, viz, That Sir *John* keeps up to his high Professions for King *James*, when he dares not so much as give King *William* the Title of King, though in the Words from another Man's Mouth, when he tells you, that this great Man should answer him, that the *Prince of Orange* had been acquainted with those things before.

What other Confessions Sir *John* pretended to make afterwards, viz. Such, as that of accusing so many of the Firmest and most Eminent Friends of the Crown, as intended more for an Amusement to the whole Government, than an Ingenuous Discovery: Possibly all that Knowledge might likewise come from  
from



from a *French* Mint too; for nothing hardly of an *English* Face would have a Front hard enough for such a Forgery; however we dare not suppose that to be the Contents of those Papers in the Tower; for then the Great Man would not have answered, *That the King was acquainted with them before.* For that Confession look'd more like a *Gorgon* than a Discovery; so far from any former Acquaintance of the Kings, that I suppose it never saw Light, before Sir John and his Prompters thrust its Dowdy Face into the World.

*I might have expected Mercy from that Prince, because I was Instrumental in saving his Life. For when about April Ninety five, an Attempt against him came to my Knowledge, I did partly by Dissuasions, and partly by Delays, prevent that Design, which I suppose was the Reason that the last Villanous Project was concealed from me.*

In this Paragraph he makes a kind of *Mordecai's* Plea for receiving of mercy from King  
Wil-

*William* ; for here he confesses himself entrusted with a Design formed against King *William*, of no less Villany than some Clandestine Attempts upon the King's Life, which he partly by *disswasions*, and partly by *delays* prevented, and thereby (as he tells you) *saved the King's Life*. We must here observe, that a Person even of that great Honour and Character as Sir *John Fenwick*, was nevertheless judged that proper Confident and Counsel-keeper to the Russian Party, as to be made privy to so Black a Design as *Assassination* it self. Nay it further appears, that he tacitly confesses himself to be an Actor and a Leader in it ; for otherwise without his privy, how could he *disswade*, or without his own actual *Leading Hand*, or at least *Commanding Power* in it, how could he *delay* it.

What Truth or what Merits soever there may be in this Narrative of his secret Service to the King I will not judge ; but if any such good Service were really done,  
'tis

'tis a sign that he has had that Tenderneſs for the Actors in it, (as much Remorſe as he ſays he has had for the Act it ſelf, viz. in preventing it) that from that day to this he has wholly conceal'd the Plotters, though at laſt he has declared the Plot. And this Averſion of his to a baſe Deſign, he ſuppoſes, was the Reaſon why *the late Villanous Project was conceal'd from him.* Very likely, for that, or other Reaſons, it might be conceal'd from him; for I hear not of any thing of the laſt *Aſſaſſination* laid to his Charge. But all this clears not his Innocence from the *Invaſion*; for that by the whole Party in general, even by the tendereſt Scrupler of Honour amongſt them, was reputed a more Manly, more Heroick, and more Warrantable Undertaking.

*If there be any Perſons whom I have injur'd in Word or Deed, I heartily pray their Pardon, and beg of God to pardon thoſe who have injur'd me, particularly thoſe who with great Zeal have ſought my Life, and brought the Guilt of my Innocent Blood upon the Nation, no Treason being proved upon me.*

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His hearty begging Pardon of all whom he had injur'd in Word or Deed, and his begging God to pardon those who had any wise injur'd him, is a very good Christian Acknowledgment, and would be infinitely both to his own Glory, and his Ghostly Guides, if his whole Paper had been all of a piece with it. 'Tis true, when he more particularly mentions those who, as he says, *with great Zeal sought his Life*, there perhaps he might be somewhat mistaken, for that Zeal might possibly favour more of a Loyal Warmth for the King's Preservation, and publick Justice against his Enemies, than any great Heat or Animosity against the Person of Sir John Fenwick; and his Judges are so well satisfied in the Equity of their Judgment, that the Cry of *Innocent Blood hanging over the Nation* is the least part of their Fears.

I return my most hearty Thanks to those noble and worthy Persons who gave me their Assistance, by opposing this Bill of Attainder; without which it had been impossible I could have fallen.

*fallen under the Sentence of Death. God bless them and their Posterity, though I am fully satisfied they pleaded their own Cause while they defended mine.*

His Expressions of Gratitude to those Members, whose peculiar Tenderness inclined them to Mercy towards him, is very worthy from him; but where he comes to tell them, that *it had been impossible for him to have fallen under the Sentence of Death without a Bill of Attainder*; he would have done well to have told the World, that he stood so much upon his own Innocence, that his trifling Motions towards a Confession were no false Mask of Candor and Ingenuity, only to protract Time till *Goodman* could be bribed off and spirited away to *France*. And where he tells them, that *whilst they defended his Cause they pleaded their own*; there, I am afraid, he has quite dash'd his first grateful Acknowledgment; for God forbid that so many worthy Gentlemen, and Men of Honour and Loyalty, should fall under Sir *John's* Dilemma's, or be tinctured with his Blemishes, to stand in want either of a *Plea* or *Defence*.



*I pray God to bless my true and lawful Sovereign King James, the Queen, and Prince of Wales, and restore him and his Posterity to this Throne again, for the Peace and Prosperity of this Nation, which is impossible to prosper till the Government is settled upon a right Foot.*

The Transport and Zeal of this last Prayer summs all. His Death only wanted this conclusive Protestation to seal it a Martyrdom.

The Glory and Merit of the Cause in which he dyes so supercedes all the Guilt of the Fact charged against him, that without any other Declaration, this Innocence alone wipes off all Attainder. There can be no Blot in that Scutcheon where every private Conscience is the Herauld.

'Tis true, Sir *John* before told you, That his Religion taught him his Loyalty to King James, his Church of England Perswasion : — Methinks 'tis a mad Church that can be so much *felo de se*, as to be so strangely  
active



active in Restoring of that Prince, that would bring over Daggers to cut its own Throat.

Methinks the whole Malecontent Party, especially the Church of *England* Members amongst them, should not have forgotten the more particular Ungrateful Treatment from that Prince, to that very Church that mounted him into his Throne, and consequently what slender Hopes they must have of his future Civility to it, for keeping him thus long out of it. And therefore, if after all this Dreadful Prospect before them, (upon Supposition of his Return) their over-scrupulous straight-lac'd Consciences cannot come up to acquiesce to the Present Establishment, in acknowledging KING WILLIAM, that Prince's Title, not only supported by the National Assent, the best Foundation of Allegiance; but likewise by the Recognition of almost all the Princes of *Europe*, though even of a contrary Church, the very *Romanists* themselves. Certainly, I say,

say, if there can be any such Depraved Senses left in that Communion, they are undoubtedly resolved to let the whole World know, that their Religion has either divested them of their Humanity or Reason, (*viz.*) either in wishing such a Scourge both to them and their Posterity, or otherwise fancying such Golden Dreams (or rather Airy ones) from such a *Restoration*.

As Sacred, and as Darling as an Uninterrupted Succession may be esteem'd, and as much upon a *Right Foot* as King *James's* Title stood, nevertheless we are but too sensible, that he began to warp into that Unfortunate *Left-handed* Administration, that his *Restoration* ought to be no part of any Sober or Rational Man's Prayers, except his *Letany*.

*And*

*And now, O God, I do with all  
humble Devotion commend my Soul  
into Thy Hands, the Great Maker  
and Preserver of Men, and Lover of  
Souls ; beseeching Thee, that it may  
be alwaies dear and precious in Thy  
Sight, through the Merits of my Savi-  
our Jesus Christ, Amen.*

JOHN FENWICKE.

Amen, Amen.

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